585 couple then put on wreaths called sammandha mālai, or wreaths establishing relationship, and the wrist threads are tied on. The bride's sister brings some rice and milk in a cup, into which the linked fingers of the bride and bridegroom are thrust. Taking up some of the rice, they put it into each other's mouths three times. After they have washed their hands, the maternal uncle or priest asks them if they have seen Aranjoti (the pole-star), and they reply in the affirmative. On the third day, presents are given to the newly-married couple, and the wrist threads are removed. Going to a stream, they perform a mimic ceremony of sowing, and scatter cotton and rice seed in two small pans made by a Toreya with
587 cow-dung. Widow remarriage is permitted among the Udayas, and a widow may marry a cousin, but not her
585 dead husband's brother. At the marriage ceremony, a priest makes a mark with sacred ashes on the foreheads of the contracting couple, and announces the fact of their union.

428 It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that, as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the
(593) house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is
(888) the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents, and support them as long as they live, and, when they die, he continues to live in the paternal home, of which he becomes the owner."

• 843 A ceremony is performed in the seventh month of a
(585) woman's first pregnancy, which is important, inasmuch
(586) as it seals the marriage contract, and, after its perform-

843 (585) (586) ance, divorce can only be obtained through the decree of the panchāyat (tribal council). Moreover, if it has not been performed, a man cannot claim the paternity of the child. The ceremony is called kanni kattodu or kanni hākodu (thread tying or throwing). The husband and wife are seated in the midst of those who have assembled for the occasion, and the former asks his father-in-law whether he may throw the thread round his wife's neck, and, having received permission, proceeds to do so. If he gets the thread, which must have no knots in it, entangled in the woman's bunch of hair (kondai), which is made large for the occasion by the addition of false (783) hair, he is fined three rupees. On the day of the ceremony, the man and his wife are supposed to be under pollution, and sit in the verandah to receive presents. The mats used by them for sleeping on are cleaned on the following morning, and they get rid of the pollution by bathing.

843 846 783 821 A first confinement must not take place within the house, and the verandah is converted into a lying-in chamber, from which the woman is, after delivery, removed to the outer apartment, where she remains till she is free from pollution by catching sight of the crescent moon. If a woman has been delivered at her 846 (777) father's house, she returns to the home of her husband within a month of the birth of the child on an auspicious 851 day. On arrival there, the infant is placed near the feet of an old man standing by a lamp within the milk-house. Placing his right hand over the head of the infant, the old man blesses it, and a feast is held, before the commencement of which two cups, one containing milk, and the other cooked rice, are produced. All the relations take up a little of the milk and rice, and touch the tongue of the baby with them.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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764 rowed by the Todas from one or other of these races."
783 At the funerals, of which we were spectators, no calf was
brought near the corpse, and the celebrants of the rites
(171) were satisfied with the mere mention by name of a calf,
which is male or female according to the sex of the
deceased. At the funeral witnessed by the Rev. A. C.
Clayton, a cow-buffalo was led three times round the
bier, and a little of its milk, drawn at the time, put into
the mouth of the corpse. Then a buffalo calf was led
thrice round the bier, and the dead man's hand laid on
its head. By this act, the calf was supposed to receive
all the sins of the deceased. It was then driven away to
a great distance, that it might contaminate no one, and
764 it was said that it would never be sold, but looked on
• 843 as a dedicated sacred animal. If a dead man leaves a
widow in a state of pregnancy, who has not performed
the kanni kattodu or marriage thread ceremony, this
must be gone through before the corpse is taken to the
pyre, in order to render the child legitimate. The preg-
nant woman is, at the time of the funeral, brought close
to the cot, and a near relation of the deceased, taking up
a cotton thread, twisted in the form of a necklace with-
out any knots, throws it round her neck. Sometimes
the hand of the corpse is lifted up with the thread, and
made to place it round the neck. At the funeral of
the young man, Mr. Clayton saw this ceremony per-
formed on his pregnant wife. After a turmeric-dyed
cord had been taken from the hands of the corpse and
tied round her neck, she was again brought to the side
of the bier, and her ear-rings, nose ornaments, and other
articles of jewellery, were removed in token that she had
764 become a widow. Soon after the recitation of sins, all
(824) the agnates go to the house of the dead man, at the
entrance to which a gunny-bag is spread, whereon a small

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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with non-Badaga prostitutes. The lower-class group, as we shall see below (3.7—c), has some extra-marital sexual contact with a wide range of other Badaga men, including of course some who have also had relations with diseased prostitutes. Since the four chosen villages are representative in their subcultures of these four phratries, are all accessible to therapists and midwives, are located within three miles of each other in the middle of the plateau, are all at the same elevation of about 6,500 feet, but in no instances were using contraceptives in 1963, it is difficult to avoid explaining the divergence between the average number of children in these families by any other means than this hypothesis: that *there is a positive correlation between socio-ritual status (or extent of religious orthodoxy) and the fertility of women.* I realize this may sound like moralizing; but it is the census data and not I myself that shows the "good," orthodox Badaga parents to have more live births than those who indulge more in inter-community, extra-marital relations.

The number of stillbirths and abortions is something I know nothing about. In one well-to-do Adikiri farming family which happened to include two skilled midwife-therapists, a woman married at the age of 12 conceived first at 18, and then had a total of five live births and another five miscarriages or neonate deaths. I have no reason to believe either that her husband (whom I know well) was diseased or that her birth history is really atypical.

Sex Education

3.2. A useful way of approaching the matter of Badaga sexual practice is to ask how the individual acquires his knowledge of the matter. The answer is that diverse sources are available, including conversation with others, observation of men and animals, and experimentation. We shall elaborate on each of these in turn.

Conversation on sexual matters occurs not only with members of one's own sex but also with lovers. Since in each case the party with whom one holds such conversation may be either an age-mate or some older person, there is a relatively free flow of information from one generation to another, and between the two sexes. Nonetheless some propriety is observed in seeking the information. Parents do not usually give any sex instruction to their children, nor do elder brothers generally give it to younger siblings or elder sisters to their younger sisters. The mother's brother, who is a kind of

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Lovers and Prostitutes

3.6. Badaga girls used to be married shortly after puberty and youths in their late adolescence. Various social pressures, most importantly the new educational requirements, have increased these ages until today a girl gets married at about 16 and a young man in his early 20s. Since births are not registered it is possible for parents to claim their daughter is older than she really is at marriage: recent legislation about age at marriage (18 for girls, 21 for men) might sometimes prompt them to do so.

One effect of this raising of the appropriate age for marriage has been an increase in premarital sex activity among male youths. The corresponding phenomenon does not seem to have occurred among the girls, however; quite the opposite, in fact. I was told that a "double standard" has recently appeared, in that if an unmarried man is known to be having an affair he is not thought badly of, whereas if a young woman does so she is mocked by other villagers and considered very immoral. This development has come about since mid-century because of changing attitudes towards pregnancy. In earlier days an unmarried girl would have affairs without any great fear of pregnancy, because she knew that if she did become pregnant she could go before the village council, name the father, and he would be forced to marry the girl concerned. She only had to assert that a man was the father and he would have to marry and support her — even if he already had a wife. Should a man refuse to accept the council's decision on the matter he could be outcasted and ordered out of the village, his property divided among his brothers, and a share of it given to support the pregnant girl. This, rather than an abortion, was the normal procedure. Today an unmarried woman is very circumspect even if she has reached the age of 30. She knows that a ruined reputation can spoil her chances of an advantageous marriage, and the village council has little power to force a wayward man into marrying or supporting her today.

3.7. As with much else in Indian social organization, there is a hierarchy in the frequency and acceptability of extra-marital sexual partners, as outlined below.

(*a*) Most frequently chosen is a girl related as affine to a boy; they are a couple who might later marry without offence. Usually this means the girl would have to be of the same phratry but a different clan, and live in a different village from the boy's. If the parents

truate, I was told, until 18 or 19, long after they have married.) Husbands thus attach little importance to presence or absence of a hymen. A bride is nonetheless supposed to be a virgin on her first marriage, and so on the morning after her defloration her parents-in-law look for a bloodstain on the bed. If she is not in fact a virgin one of the couple will usually draw a little blood from some part of the body so as to make a stain. Whether or not the groom is responsible for her previous loss of virginity he will want a bloodstain to be found, for otherwise his parents may think he has fallen in love with a loose, unworthy girl. Badagas proverbially take a dim view of young women: "A young ox and a young girl are both inconstant: do not trust them" (Metz 1864: 94).

They have a kind of second wedding ceremony, held at about the seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy. The sexual aspect of this second ceremony is that on the following night the couple are supposed to sleep together and have intercourse. While the pregnant girl is not impure at the time of the actual ceremony, both she and her husband are considered so on the following morning. It is a ritual requirement that she carry all of their bedding to some stream, but not the usual water source, and wash it clean.

3.10. Badaga men, and less commonly women, can get a disease called *kanne no:* ("first sickness"), which is caused either by a young man's first sexual experience or by too much sexual activity in his early married years. It is a relatively rare illness, recognizable from the face and the accompanying fever. A patient is served only "cooling" foods till he recovers; he rests at home, and is also given *kodaŋgu soppu* (made from velvety patchouli, etc.) as for any fever. The parents stop the couple from sleeping together for the time being; until fully recovered the patient will be permitted little or no coitus by his elders. This illness is said to be quite dangerous, whereas "too little" intercourse is not thought to have any bad effect on the body.

Menstrual Practices

3.11. Badaga therapists do not know why menstruation occurs, and simply attribute it to God's will. The intervals can vary, I was told, from 16 to 40 days, tending to be shorter in fat women. Among young women menses occurs every 18, 19 or 20 days, with 22 days as perhaps the maximum. With older women the period comes on

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about to receive food, she brought a pot outside, left it on the ground, and stepped back about five meters while the visitor poured her foodstuffs into the pot. This was in fact the usual way of giving food to untouchables in South India. As women did not expect very good food in the menstrual hut they tended to fill themselves up before leaving home: "The eye of the ox which has been ploughing is on the village; the eye of a woman just before menses is on the hearth." A more rambunctious proverb states: "The woman who has not eaten is like the one in the menstrual hut; the woman who does not fart is like summer"—summer being a rather uncomfortable period.

Adult Sexual Activity

3.15. Badaga society seems to be more tolerant of sexual escapades, whether within or beyond the bonds of marriage, than is usually recorded as the case in other Hindu communities. Thus a frustrated missionary reported: "Badaga women, who have not come much into contact with Christianity, freely express their disgust at the miserable condition of Christian women, who are bound to one husband only!" (Anonymous 1894: 547). A proverb still heard on the lips of Badaga men expresses their exasperation with womenfolk: "A passionate wife is as bad as a house that leaks" (Metz 1864: 94). Yet there is little of the double standard of morality that separates the sexes in orthodox Hindu and Muslim India. Badagas of both sexes enjoy coitus, a factor that is essential to procreation, for they believe that unless a couple are properly satisfied by the act the woman will not conceive. Ignorance of the physiological facts of paternity is evidenced from the belief expressed by older informants that, if either husband or wife is contemplating divorce and remarriage, then pregnancy cannot occur even though they still have intercourse. Nevertheless they do believe that a foetus grows out of the semen in the womb, and it is fed by blood coming from the mother's belly (10.13). In those situations where a couple are satisfied but no pregnancy ensues, it is assumed that some sin has been committed by either the couple or their ancestors.

Despite this emphasis on the pleasurable aspect of sex, much coitus is reported to occur for other reasons. When a couple have been working hard all day in the woods or fields they really feel the need for total rest throughout the night. Yet they may still have inter-

4 BIRTH PRACTICES

"Delivery is like having escaped death."
(Proverb)

Pregnancy

4.1. Generally a Badaga woman menstruates each 25 to 30 days. If this does not happen at the usual time she is taken to some knowledgeable old woman on the fortieth day after the last menses. She will know by the state of the breast if a person is pregnant: the main indicator is the nipple, which becomes darker. The breasts become shinier and slightly bigger. Other signs of pregnancy are that a woman feels lazy about working, even about walking or speaking, and she either does not want to eat or wants unusual kinds of food. She wants extra chilies, but must not have them. She always has a sensation of nausea, and especially when she eats. By such indicators it is known that the woman is pregnant. These signs continue until the sixtieth day only. By the end of the second month a woman can be quite sure that she is pregnant. 843 (841)

There is a kind of pregnancy without any preceding menstruation, considered a god-given pregnancy. This is quite common shortly after a birth. A woman does not start menstruating until five or six months after a birth, but if she has meanwhile had coitus she may become pregnant again. In one village a girl was reported to have got pregnant before ever menstruating. She was aged about 15, and was otherwise a big, mature girl. (There are no stories of virgin births among the Badagas, however.) (841)

4.2. Once a man knows his wife is pregnant he should grow his bread and moustache from then until her seventh month of pregnancy. (302)

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●843 pregnancy. Furthermore, a man whose wife is pregnant should not
[825] kill a snake, lest the spirit of the snake enter the foetus and the child be born dumb, looking like a snake, and with its tongue forever flashing in and out.

There are also various restrictions on the woman's behaviour. She should not eat red onion or garden marrows, otherwise the baby will have itches when born. She should keep herself busy around the house, so that the child will also be lively when born. Immediately after a pregnancy is suspected the girl will be prohibited from washing her clothes or putting on clean ones, lest this make her feel so good that she menstruates. She cannot go to any festival or ceremony at which she might see something new or interesting. She must not cross any large river, and must not cross the boundary of her hamlet either. All of these restrictions apply only till the ninetieth day of pregnancy.

During the dangerous period between the fortieth and sixtieth days the woman must have complete rest, and she generally goes to her father's house for this. During that time the pregnancy can
[261] be lost if she eats "heating" foods, those causing an excess of heat in the body. Thus women are not given chilies then, although they want them, because these are heating. Furthermore, a woman should not carry a heavy load, or run, or take long strides, and should be careful while walking down steep places.

[833] A woman should not have intercourse from the time her pregnancy is first recognized until the third month. After that time she can have it, but only at long intervals. Prior to the sixtieth day the woman may abort, in which case the abortion is treated as a menses for social purposes (see above, 3.13.).

4.3. In her third month a woman can become active and eat without the nauseous sensation. Then, when lying in bed early in the morning, she can feel the surface of her stomach and known there is something else there; and generally from the third month she will see some milk if the breasts are pressed. From the start of the fifth month the foetus moves in the womb occasionally. Between the seventh and ninth months the woman can sometimes feel it "gasping for breath."

No special foods or medicines are given the woman from her third month onward, but if she is getting too much "heat" in the body then a particular mixture is fed to her. This is because with excess of "heat" she may have a stillbirth in the seventh or eighth

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month, or else have a difficult delivery during the ninth month and produce a lean, unhealthy baby. 843

If the woman's eyes turn red, she gets diarrhoea, feels uneasy, and her lips are itchy, these signs indicate that she indeed has too much "heat" in the body, and that she is not having food regularly or in enough quantity. If there is a lot of "heat" she will have heartburn before or after meals, and will cough; but the excess "heat" can only be noticed by any of these signs, not by feeling the actual temperature of the body.

The "heat" can be reduced by feeding the patient buttermilk or butter. In an extreme case she can be given a special mixture. [272] Lime juice is put in a pot, and buffalo milk is milked directly from the animal onto the juice, and then drunk immediately. (Cow's milk can be used instead, but is not so effective.) This drink is given to her every morning for two or three weeks, before she takes any food.

In the fourth, sixth and seventh months the woman can be carefree. In even numbered months, the fourth, sixth and eighth, she may cross the hamlet boundary and visit her father's house, provided she does not stay there overnight. In odd-numbered months, the fifth, seventh and ninth, she can stay there overnight.

4.4. At an odd-numbered month, generally the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy only, she and her husband go through a ceremony that confirms their marriage. This occurs on a day after the new moon and before the full moon; it must be an auspicious day—a Monday, Friday, Wednesday or Sunday, in that order of preference. Although no mention is made of the pregnancy, everyone is aware that it has led to a stable marriage and the woman is no longer a mere servant of the man: "For the woman without children there is no house; for the man without an ox there is no place" (Verghese 1963: 422). Hence the ceremony: 843 585 851 [777] [581] [539]

> . . . it seals the marriage contract, and, after its performance, divorce can only be obtained through the decree of the panchāyat (tribal council). Moreover, if it has not been performed, a man cannot claim the paternity of the child . . . The husband and wife are seated in the midst of those assembled . . . and the former asks his father-in-law whether he may throw the thread round his wife's neck, and, having received permission, proceeds to do so . . . On the day of the ceremony, the man

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843 585 851 and his wife are supposed to be under pollution, and sit in the verandah to receive presents. The mats used by them for sleeping on are cleaned on the following morning, and they get rid of the pollution by bathing. (Thurston 1909: 108-09)

(833) It is reported that the couple sleep side by side on this night, with a stick between them to symbolize the coming child, and they are supposed to have intercourse. This however is considered a more dangerous act in the fifth than in the seventh month.

In the unfortunate event that this ceremony is not performed before labour begins, the nude woman is covered with a cloth while her husband ties the turmeric-coloured thread around her neck. (The cloth simply saves the woman from some embarrasment.) If the thread is not tied before her delivery, it signifies that the woman has no husband.

843 757 4.5. From the seventh month onwards the foetus may get a limb tangled or be in the wrong position, and then the mother feels some lassitude and cannot work. One of the few old ladies who have the skill will then massage the woman's stomach till the foetus is back in the regular position. The massage isdone with the help of oil poured on the stomach. This oil used to come from the nuts of the castor-oil plant; but nowadays ground-nut oil is used, or else coconut oil sometimes. This massage can only be done in the seventh or ninth month, for the stomach should not be touched in the eighth month at all. Neverthless an old, highly experienced woman may do the massage in that month, but still with trepidation.

843 There is in fact a saying which translates : "In the fifth month the child will say, 'Shall I come out or shall I stay inside?' " Another states: "In the eighth month he will make a place for himself," it being implied that the foetus will be aborted then if it is not comfortable. The foetus can possibly get out of position when the woman walks or gets into bed. Hence another Badaga saying: "During pregnancy be careful about the legs; during the milk-giving time [i.e. until the child is weaned] be careful about the mouth." "Legs" refer to the woman's movements. She must be careful about the "mouth," i.e. her diet, because that food will be transmitted to the baby through her breast milk.

The woman may do whatever she wants, and is given whatever she asks for, in the ninth month. She is usually at her father's

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village by this time, and there her relatives give her sweets, show her beautiful views, and if possible beautiful dresses. She has to be careful lest too many sweets lead to worms in her stomach or in her newborn child. It is not unusual for sexual relations to occur in the latter part of a pregnancy. Because of the dangers just stated, it does not occur in the fifth or eighth month, lest the woman miscarry. In the eighth or ninth month, however, the girl generally has a strong sexual desire, and in the last month the couple may discretely have intercourse. This is done with care: they lie on their sides or adopt some other position so that no weight is placed on the womb. This intercourse is said to satisfy the woman and ensure that she has no problem with the delivery. One old therapist used to advise when a delivery was late that the couple should have intercourse, and then delivery would follow within a day or two.

When the confinement is imminent, the woman moves back to her father's house, especially if it is her first pregnancy, because she will get better treatment there. While she is there everyone in the hamlet should feed her one meal. For subsequent births she may be allowed to remain at her husband's house, and may use the outer room for her confinement (Thurston 1909 : 109). For the first confinement, however, she is taken to her father's house even if she does not want to go.

Birth

4.6. Women generally deliver after the ninth month is completed, but some do so 10-15 days before this, others 10-15 days after. There may even be successful births at the end of the tenth month, generally in a subsequent delivery, not a woman's first. Such a birth, however, is probably accounted for by the pregnancy in fact having started only at the month following that which is being counted from. It is recognized that conception could have occurred on any day up to the one when the last menses was expected but failed to appear. Otherwise when a birth is a long time overdue it usually means there will be twins. One of these is always weak, and it needs the extra time to develop properly.

Some 40-50 per cent of women give birth a day or two before the new moon or the full moon; so they must be careful as the new moon and the full moon approach. Sometimes they give birth

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clarified butter and sweet flag. All but the last two are grown in the plains and bought in the bazaar. Sweet flag is a Nilgiri plant the rhizome of which is dried. These items have to be mixed in particular proportions. The dried ginger is a rhizome one cm. thick; a piece one cm. long is used; also the same amount of sweet flag rhizome; four small pepper seeds; one teaspoonful of the small cumin seeds; three or four cloves; 1/2 cube of sugar; 1/2 teaspoonful of coffee powder; and two teaspoonfuls of clarified butter. Except for the butter, coffee, sugar, and cumin, these items are crushed on an open mortar with a metate-like stone roller. This object, about 20 cms. across, is called *maddare* or *matkallu*, and is used exclusively by Badaga therapists for grinding up medicines. An empty pot is put on the fire, and the cumin seeds roasted in it; when ready, they make a crackling sound. Then about two tumblers of water and the crude sugar are added, and after them the other ground items. As soon as the water boils the coffee powder is added; and when the liquid has half evaporated, it is filtered carefully through a piece of clean white cloth into a tumbler containing the clarified butter. When it has cooled a little this mixture is given to the woman to drink. After that her pains stop if the delivery is not really imminent; or else she has a quick delivery.

4.8. For a week or so before the expected birth the neighbours and other women of the girl's lineage keep an eye on her. When one of them has to go off to the fields to work she first calls to enquire about the health of the expectant woman. As soon as labour starts her parents send messages to all of the neighbouring houses, and also to her husband's house. The latter is supposed to pay the messengers who bring the news to him.

There is generally more than one midwife in each village. There are usually also some girls studying midwifery, so that as the years pass the younger women can take over from the old midwives. No male is allowed to be present at a Badaga birth. Any woman can be there, and generally women who know how to deliver a baby are asked to come, as are the girls who are learning midwifery. There is no rule that small girls should be excluded but they usually are because they may become afraid. For that same reason pregnant women are generally not allowed there. Women who are breast-feeding babies are also strongly advised not to come, since the strong smell may have a bad effect on both mother and child. Despite such warnings some brave nursing mothers may still come,

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844 (853) generally those who have had several births themselves. Most women in a village want to go and watch a delivery; but it is said to be a sin for any woman watching to leave before the delivery is completed. This is recalled in the saying, "Delivery is like having escaped death," which means that the pain borne by a woman is nearly as much as at death. In the same way, one should never pass a woman in advanced pregnancy, in case she is in labour and (843) needs help. If too many come to the delivery one old woman selects who should stay to help and asks the rest to leave. Those who remain give encouragement to the expectant mother by saying, "Be brave, there won't be any pain." Badagas expect the woman not to cry out; but she will if the pain is too much. "The man who has seen a tiger hunt is scared like a woman just before delivery," runs the proverb, probably in reference to a woman's first delivery.

Usually some eight or ten women attend at a birth, although no more than one of them is likely to be recognized as the midwife. Though it is not compulsory for them to be present they nevertheless come, mainly out of genuine concern for the girl's predicament but also partly because they expect their friends to render similar service when necessary for themselves or their daughters. It is clear 844 that enmity among Badaga families does not particularly concern 578 the women, because even if a family is not on speaking terms with that of the pregnant girl, a woman from the "enemy" family will still attend at the birth; or if that is not possible will come to her father's house afterwards to enquire after her—as indeed would a male of this "enemy" household. Such an "enemy" neighbour woman will not eat food provided by the girl's father while she attends at the birth, but she may well accept food provided by the girl's husband and take it home to eat. The thinking behind (858) this pattern of behaviour is that the girl—at least when she was an unmarried child living in her father's house—was common to the whole village. Badaga children are always viewed in this light, rather than as exclusively members of particular families.

844 Male relatives of the woman wait outside on the veranda or the street, and if there are difficulties they will offer advice or fetch other women to help. Generally the husband of the woman is (846) amongst these men. There is nothing in particular that he should be doing; and Badagas have never practised the *couvade*. It is her husband who must meet all expenses associated with the birth, even though it occurs in the home of the woman's father. Clarified

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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827 because the digestion has already produced such a store of blood.
826 There seems to be no conception of layers of fat lying under the skin.

The existence of a skeleton is recognized. Thus the backbone allows us to stand up erect. Outside it there is a large vein, which is necessary for life to continue. Both large and small bones have been given by God, to aid us in working.

[84] Reproduction is conceived of as a somewhat separate subsystem, but it too centres on the belly; and again it is by God's grace that there are two sexes. He has given us hair only in certain parts of the body to differentiate us from animals. Furthermore, he has given moustaches and beards to men and breasts to women, in order to distinguish between the sexes. It is also God's will that only men have semen, and only women have menses. Inside the
826 belly of women, but not of men, there is a bag, the womb (*ku:su*
827 *pae*) where a foetus grows. The foetus is formed entirely from
842 semen, which is why copulation is essential for conception. Blood
• 843 comes to the child after digestion has occurred in the mother's belly, and the foetus grows with this blood. Without conception this blood becomes waste each mouth. Urine and faeces are simi-
827 larly waste products of the digestion process in the belly.

After birth, milk flows from the belly to the breasts, and is
826 sucked through the nipples (*ma: ru*). These are thought to be the
827 outside part of the *nenju*, and it is by God's grace that only in women do they give milk.

The semen is another product of the belly, and it passes from there to the penis during coitus. The function of the *he:du* (scrotum and testicles) is simply to effect an erection; it is not a source of semen.

Parts of the body present from birth do not grow continuously, but hair, being like grass, does. Nevertheless a child does grow slowly if it is fed properly, just as vegetables do if they are manured. If one's *nenju* pulsates weakly, then that person will become weak. If he does not take food and drink he will die, for all the other functions of the body will stop.

Diagnosis

128 10.14. The preceding few chapters have presented an excursion into the ethnomedicine of the Badagas, as described to me by some

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two men, Ego and 'N', who find that they are "sons-in-law" to each other, because Ego is FZH to 'N' but is also a classificatory BS to the wife of 'N'. Thus, if the permitted marriage that Diagram 1 illustrates takes place, the two men do not know how to treat each other according to the rules that normally guide behaviour towards affines. The problem is resolved by determing which man is the older one and is thus entitled to the deference of the other.

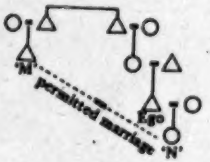

Diagram 2

The same point about the non-recognition of affinal generation levels is brought out in a second example. In Diagram 2 Ego should not show respect to 'M', although the latter is of a superior generation level, because it is permissible for 'M' to marry 'N'. Ego therefore calls 'M', his potential son-in-law, by name instead of by a kin term, as he would otherwise do in addressing an older person. It is important to note that in a society where remarriage is common and polygyny does occur, any married couple can quite probably trace the kin relationship linking them through two or even three different routes. In such a situation, aggravated as it is by the commonness of "cross-generational" marriages, affinal generation levels really become unmanageable concepts, since Ego's spouse could conceivably be assigned to several different generation levels, from his point of view, depending on which way her relationship to him was traced through their kinship field.

Rights over the wife as genetrix rest fully with her husband and his lineage. Upon divorcing her he assumes control and responsibility for all of the children she has produced for him, boys and girls, and she is sent back to her father's house (cf. Table 5).

The fundamental principle of patriliny finds biological justification in the Badaga theory of conception. In their traditional view, a foetus develops solely from the semen of the father. The only biological role of the mother is a nurturing one, seen as rather analogous to manuring a field. Blood comes to the foetus from the mother's stomach, where it has been made from digested food; and after the delivery her milk also comes from digested food in the stomach. While the mother's role is thus a crucial one in that she feeds the foetus and baby, it is not considered to develop from her flesh at all.